I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

PREFACE

121 The present handbook is one in a series of regional handbooks which the Far Eastern and Russian Institute of the University of Washington compiled under a contract with the Human Relations Area Files. It is designed as a supplement to the General Handbook on China, compiled by the Institute under the same contract; it describes and analyzes regional peculiarities and developments in China's great Northwest. Reference is therefore made to this General Handbook for all topics discussed in the present volume; the coverage of the General Handbook is not duplicated here, and the presentation of problems and events of the Northwest presumes familiarity with the overall setting, discussed in the General Handbook. Reference is also made to the preface of the General Handbook, in which the circumstances of this compilation and the working methods of the team of contributors are set forth. The outline of the regional handbooks follows the prescribed format. Sections, however, have been treated more briefly or left out altogether, when little or no regional deviation from the general pattern was discernible.

Research conducted at the Far Eastern and Russian Institute of the University of Washington has for some years been guided by the concept of regionalism. A regional approach to the problems of Chinese economy, social structure, and political power has permitted the use of a much wider range of material and has added a new dimension to its analysis. The work on the Human Relations Area Files Handbooks provided the opportunity to expand this research experience into an attempt to cover the regions of China as rounded and to a degree self-contained units. It has to be stressed, though, that this attempt should be regarded as an experiment rather than a solution, since much more work and thought is needed to establish the essence and the functions of any one region of China. To begin with, the question of what constitutes a region is far from being satisfactorily answered. The Human Relations Area Files handbooks took, mainly for fortuitous reasons, the administrative areas established in early Communist times as regional units. As far as the regions go that were dealt with at Seattle, that is to say the Northeast, the Northwest, and the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, this choice turned out to be at least a workable assumption.

In the case of China's Northwest, the delimitation of the region and the circumference of its characteristic features can almost be called traditional. Ever since the "Movement to Develop the Northwest" (k'ai-fa Hsi-pei) was launched in

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

121 the early thirties (see particularly: Tai Chi-t'ao, Hsi-pei. Nanking 1934), this part of China attracted growing attention as one of the greatest hopes for her future. To be sure, the provinces covered by the concept have not always been the same in the series of surveys engendered by this movement; particularly, the province of Suiyuan, now part of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, has been frequently included. (For a discussion of the question of geographical extent see: Wang Chin-fu, Hsi-pei chih ti-wen yü jen-wen. Shanghai 1935, and Ch'en Ch'eng-hsiang, Hsi-pei ch'ü-yü ti-li, Chungking 1944) A more sober approach has however already then identified the Northwest geographically in the manner of the present handbook: it was meant to include what were then the provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Ninghsia, and Sinkiang. (see Hsü Hsü, Hsi-pei chien-she lun. Shanghai 1944).

This more or less generally accepted definition of the geographical area has set a challenging but highly difficult task for the compilers of the present handbook. The degree of diversity within the region, which includes the cradle of Chinese civilization as well as the most remote outpost of the Chinese colonial empire, called for a breadth of coverage which at times tended to strain the unity of presentation to the bursting point. The fact, on the other hand, that the region has been considered a unit by observers as well as inhabitants, necessitated analyzing interrelationships of the different segments of Northwestern society. Every possible type of relation in every field of human life presented itself here as if in a test-tube. What could be done within the framework of this handbook is again only a beginning. If pursued, this analysis could lead to a typology of group relations.

128 The present compilation owes much to the spirit of teamwork which prevailed in our handbook project. This team included the contributors to the other handbooks. All the names mentioned on the title-pages and in the prefaces of the General Handbook and the other Regional Handbooks deserved to be repeated here. Editorial work on most of the sociological and political sections was done by Beatrice Miller, and on all the economic sections by Dorothy Schroeter. Charts and tables were designed by Florence Cochran.

October 1956 **Hellmut Wilhelm**

I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 ● Sinkiang AI1

under the Ch'ing emperors, reasserted its sway in Turkestan.

4. Pattern of nomadic expansion and contraction

Wave after wave of nomadic peoples have made their appearances and then faded away, leaving the imprint of their stay on the palimpsest of Turkestan. The pattern of their entry, their ascendency, and their exit have been similar. Each outburst and withdrawal of the nomads showed but variations on the major theme. The Huns, the Turks, and the Mongols, to mention a few of the more powerful of the plethora of nomadic peoples, all had their geneses in the same region, an area of Mongolia south of Lake Baikal. The process of their rise to power followed parallel lines. First, there was a bitter internecine struggle from which one group emerged triumphant. Second, the nomadic tribes were unified into a strong coalition under the leadership of the dominant group. Third, they expanded outward from the steppes into neighboring regions, especially into the marginal zone of modern Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia. Then they consolidated these areas into bases of operation for the fourth stage, the invasion and, when successful, the conquest of the opulent agrarian lands. At the peak of their strength, these nomadic invaders would establish a strong, militant empire, under an absolutist government, to control the motley subject peoples under their domination.

But once they reached the peak of their power, the downgrade began. The paucity of their numerical strength made it difficult for them to hold large territories. The tradition of intertribal contest instilled the spirit of independence in the minds of the satraps appointed to rule portions of the far-flung empires. The failure to resolve the incompatibility between pastoral and agrarian economy, and the resentment and rebellious tendency of the subject peoples whom the conquerers were only able to overawe by military strength, were all factors which brought about the disintegration and decline of the empires of the nomads.

5. Theories concerning nomadic eruptions

What accounted for the sudden irresistible ferocity of nomad eruptions and what accounted for the docility of their withdrawal? A number of very ingenious theorires have been advanced, as answers to this intriguing question, but so far these are still in the realm of assumptions.

Many scholars have regarded the influence of climate as a possible cause of the high tide and ebb of nomadic activities. Superimposed on the progressive dessication of Central Asia resulting from the withdrawal of glaciers, were the minor cyclic fluctuations of alternating dry and moist spells. A climatologist (C. E. P. Brooks) spoke of the "classical rainfall period of 640 years," and a geographer (Raymond Wheeler) believed in a major alternation of dry and cold every 510 years. Ellsworth Huntington,

NS 195 121 648 132 114 182

a proponent of the theory of climatic alternations, called
phenomenon "the pulse of Asia."

The most important of the multiple influences is beli
be that of the economic effects of climatic changes. Whe
climate is warm and moist, the land of the nomads is fer
enough to support the nomads and their herds, but when
becomes drier and colder, the rivers and lakes shrink a
pasturage is reduced. This cuts down the food supply an
the nomads to rampage into the land of their neighbors.
of the thirteenth century, Arnold Toynbee declared that t
"paroxysm of aridity coincided in date with the demoniac
of the Mongols, and it will be seen that the physiographic
towards humidity likewise corresponds in date with the r
of the Mongols." (A Study of History, vol. III, p. 439).

Although the outbursts and recessions of the nomads
periodic, the rigid periodization was too mechanical and
scholars have discredited climate as the sole factor. Hu
suggests that four factors may have impelled the huge mi
of the nomadic peoples, namely: climate, the inherent q
the people especially as manifested by the leaders, the p
by the wealth and the opportunities of the agricultural la
the push exerted by over-population. (Mainsprings of Ci
p. 568).

NS (233) (262)

A period of peace and prosperity would allow the pop
the nomads to increase. However, in the desolate stepp
was dependent upon flocks of sheep and herds of cattle a
and the people, unlike their sedentary neighbors, did no
tradition nor the facilities for food storage. Any sudden
in climate which caused a reduction of pasturage and wa
would create a "time of troubles" and compel the nomad
to migrate in search of food and pasturage.

When the nomads were experiencing a "time of troub
lush riches and the military weakness of the settled peop
tempt border tribes to encroach upon the agrarian regio
tress and discontent at home and the lure of wealth abro
the push and the pull of Toynbee's theories. When the le
of bold leadership and ideas were added, the nomads oft
induced to burst out from the steppes of Asia and to set
in commotion.

Other scholars entirely discount the influence of clim
seek the explanation for the advance and withdrawal of th
in social and political conditions. Owen Lattimore, wh
much thought to this question, (cf. Inner Asian Frontier
lists a number of reasons other than climate, for the er
the nomads. There were, for example, technological fa
the invention of the powerful compound bow and the tech
mounted archery which gave the nomads an edge over th

NS 195 121 648 114 411 704 182

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

NS 182 175 12 648 11 [411] [704] [233]

The Chinese had to adopt the nomad bow and the technique of mounted archery before they could meet the nomads on equal terms.

Another factor, according to Lattimore, was the pastoral economy of the nomads which led to migration. Horses and cattle cannot graze on fields that have been cropped by sheep and goats. Therefore, the nomads whose livelihood depended upon their herds and flocks, must continually seek new pastures. The claims to pasturelands and the right of movement led to wars. The continuous wars stimulated the rise of leaders, hard-headed men who survived the hurly-burly of warfare and politics of the steppes and deserts. Finally, a supreme leader emerged who would then weld the various groups into a grand confederation strong enough to encroach upon the neighboring regions for land, for the profits of trade, and for revenue and tribute from the conquered peoples.

According to Lattimore, the nomads who invaded the marginal zone between the steppes and the settled lands, were not pure nomads but were semi-settled. Their wars of conquest were not only for pastures for their herds and flocks but for land, for the riches of the cities, and for the proceeds of commerce. Moreover, the cycles of their invasion and retreat began only a few centuries before the Christian era when they split from the settled peoples on China's northwestern frontier and when they acquired the technology of nomadic warfare. The true nomads on the steppes evolved from the mixed nomads, not vice versa.

The migrations which led to conquest over a wide area, such as those carried out by the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols, normally did not begin with the true nomads but with the mixed nomads, and were caused by (1) a group breaking away from the mixed nomads in order to become true nomads; or (2) a group breaking away from the true nomads in order to revert back to mixed nomadism. The Huns, Turks, and Mongols had fixed bases of operation and their conquests were for land.

Under these circumstances, according to Lattimore, the cycles of nomadic expansion and withdrawal each went through the following process:

1. The maintenance of large armies of mounted warriors to conquer land for the profit of trade and revenue from subject peoples;
2. A dichotomy of nomad society. The nomadic warriors who went forth to conquer and who were left to garrison conquered territories had control of the sources of wealth but declined militarily. The warriors who stayed in the steppes as the military reserve continued to be warlike but gradually became impoverished;
3. A split within the nomad state between those in the conquered areas and those in the steppes, leading to decline and and withdrawal.

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6. Summary

In summary, the workings of the historical process represented

I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 / AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

SN 121 197 563

1. Introduction

Linguistic principles, rather than racial aspects, are used as the standard for the division and description of the various ethnic groups of the Northwest. The Communists also use a linguistic division in their census. It would be impossible to deal with many of these minorities in terms of race, since most represent racial mixtures, e.g. the New-Uighurs, the Mongols, the Monguors, etc.

SN 635 161

The Northwest Region includes the four former provinces of

(1) Sinkiang with a total population of 4,873,608
(2) Kansu with a total population of 12,938,102
(3) Chinghai with a total population of 1,676,534
(4) Shensi with a total population of 15,881,281 (according to 1953 census).

(Although Shensi is included in the Northwest region it has not been considered in the following pages, since it has an exclusively Chinese population.)

S 162

A. The Ethnic Groups of Sinkiang

1. The Turkic peoples

The main racial group in the former Chinese province Sinkiang is Turkic and is composed of the following tribes:

1) New Uighur (or Eastern Turks)	3,600,000 people
2) Kazakhs	300,000 "
3) Kirghiz	70,000 "
4) Taranchi	43,000 "
5) Uzbeks	8,000 "
6) Tatars	5,000 "
	3,426,000

S [114] It should be noted that the Taranchi are listed separately in Communist sources although they are in no way different from the New Uighur. Taranchi means "inhabitant of the country" in contrast to the New Uighurs seventy per cent of whom live in towns and cities.

2. The Chinese Peoples

In terms of the population figures, the second racial group is Chinese:

1) Chinese	about 210,000 people
2) Dungans	about 100,000 " (Chinese Moslems, whose total figure for China as a whole is 3,599,350)

3. The Mongols

The third racial group is composed of Mongols who consist of the following tribes:

1) Ölöts	15,000 people
2) Torguts	18,000 "
3) Khoshuts	21,000 "
4) Chahar	8,000 "

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

THE FAMILY

SN 121 59 563

I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

SN 779 59 183 581

Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

SN [589]

SN 59 182 [554] [589]

The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

SN 59 779 183

Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

SN 593 SN [829]

Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

SN 592 593

In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

S 563 585 to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's relatives.

S 563 586 After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

IV. The Chinese Moslems

N 121 59 (999) Little information is available on the family structure and relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations, as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem religious objects.

N *563 582 797 Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems occurs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

N *563 585 586 793 184 The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Moslem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

N *563 184 In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists. The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

I: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

SOCIAL VALUES AND PATTERNS OF LIVING

I. Introduction

121 181 183 The Northwest region of China is a most complex subject with which to deal as far as its people, customs and social values are concerned. There has been little or no systematic research done in the past pertaining to the lives of the people in this region. The information available is mostly fragmentary, from writers whose interest was largely in the political, economic and geographic realms rather than in the cultural and social. Moreover, the few traveler-writers who exerted an effort to observe the cultural and social aspects of the people's lives described only those events in which they themselves had a chance to participate. For instance, data on dwellings, food and clothing are more readily available than data which might afford insight into social values. Birth, marriage and burial are more often recorded than other aspects of life routine which yield understanding of moral, legal and ethical concepts. Hence, there is no choice but to discuss social values and customs together in some instances and discard a rigid application of the two terms. As our definition of customs states that the term embraces all the norms classified as folkways and mores, and our definition of social values states that they are matters of convention invested with effect and meaning for all participants, it is permissible here, for the sake of convenience, to treat customs as social values and vice versa. It must be pointed out that when the social values of a group of people can be ascertained, the two entities are dealt with separately.

Because of lack of information, no uniformity in discussion can be achieved. However, an effort is made to give, in the beginning, a general picture of various people in this region, to bring forth similarities and differences in the various cultures which may help to throw some light on the understanding of the people in this region.

Although we have used the terms "social value" and "custom" here in a more flexible manner, it does not permit us to divert our attention beyond the definitions given for such terms. We have followed very closely the original meaning of the definitions except under certain conditions when such diversion was deemed necessary. As this is the case, it is necessary here to redefine the terms more fully.

121 183 Broadly speaking, "custom" is a term embracing all the norms classified as folkways and mores. It connotes an established usage which is contrasted with what is new. That is, a

121 183 custom is "the customary way of doing things." Specifically, custom is an established norm practiced and repeated by a multitude of generations. It is closely associated with folkways and mores, but it designates the traditional, autonomic, mass character of both.

121 181 Social values are defined as modes of conduct regarded as matters of common welfare by an effective consensus of the group, they are such matters as prove to be meaningful, systematic ideas, and become effectively invested principles which guide behavior. Above all, they are matters of convention invested with effect and meaning for all participants.

It should be pointed out that any value is a preference. We must bear in mind that cultural standardization defines and limits choices, and duration of values depends upon the prestige of values it carries.

II. The Region and the People

121 128 Prior to the discussion of the region and the people, it is necessary to call attention to the fact that the general discussion of this section and the following section cover only the pre-Republican period and the period of the Chinese Nationalist administration on the mainland of China. Knowledge of social change in this region under Communist control is lacking, and there is no reliable information pertaining to the true picture of living conditions there. According to Communist propaganda * [668] there have been tremendous improvements in every aspect of the people's livelihood. These "improvements," however, do not necessarily bring about a basic change in habits, social customs or traditions. No conclusions can be ventured here.

121 * 563 In the Northwest region of China one finds Han Chinese, Chinese Moslems, Turks, Mongols and Tibetans. People of different races, though living under identical geographical conditions, each group constructs its homes on the traditional pattern handed down by its ancestors. Each retains much of the old family traditions. The altered conditions called for by circumstances are mostly superficial.

For centuries the people in this area have been largely nomadic, i.e., the Mongols and Tibetans. Their life is simple and mobile, the tribesmen cling to tent living. Those who mix with [177] the Han Chinese have assimilated some aspects of Chinese culture. For the most part the Han Chinese of the area are poor farmers or traveling merchants who carry on caravan trade. The Chinese Moslems in Chinghai and Sinkiang may be nomadic or sedentary; they cultivate land where the soil is fit for farming, or they move with the seasons to pasture for their animals. In Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia, the Moslems who live among the

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• 121 Han Chinese have taken up farming. Many of them have also be-
*563 come small business men dealing in camels, sheep, oxen, furs, skins, et cetera. Often those who have settled in cities are restaurant owners. The Moslems are faithful followers of their religion. Although they have taken on the Chinese way of life, the people have always kept their own identity.

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101 In early times Sinkiang was referred to as Hsi-yü (the West-
487 ern Region) or as T'ien-shan nan-lu and T'ien-shan pei-lu (Road South of the Heavenly Mountains and Road North of the Heavenly Mountains). These names referred to the natural caravan highways which progress westward from Chinese Kansu on either side of the Heavenly Mountains, weaving along and through the watered and cultivated areas.

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563 The region has the most colorful mixture of race, custom and habit in existence. There are the dark-bearded Uighurs from Kashgar, in long, bright-colored coats, with their veiled and white-clothed women; there are booted Kirgiz from Taghdumbash Pamir; there are the outcast unveiled women from Maralbashi and foreigners from Afghanistan, India, Tibet and Russian Turkestan.

S
178 Here the passage of time seems to bring little change. Mixed
563 as they are, the tribesmen of the steppes cling to their time-honored ways, each race maintaining its own traditions. Religion runs the gamut from Mohammedanism and Lamaist Buddhism to Christianity. It is a land of mosques and lamaseries, of centuries-old irrigation ditches, of "Turban Heads" and Chinese Moslems. It is an open land of lean Kalmuch nomads and hard Kirgiz frontiersmen, of Kazakh cowboys galloping across the steppe.

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121 Of all these peoples in the Northwest, we have selected for
*563 our study seven groups, namely: the Han Chinese, the Chinese Moslems, the Kirghizs, the Kazakhs, the new Uighurs or Eastern Turks, the Mongours, the Tibetans and the Western Mongols. The Mongols of Alashan and Edsingol are now part of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Their value system and life patterns do not differ appreciably from those of the Mongols in Inner Mongolia. Reference is therefore made to the same section in the IMAR Handbook.

III. Social Values and Patterns of Living of the Peoples in the Northwest

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*563 ### A. The Han Chinese
*195 The Han Chinese of the Northwest region are predominantly
[463] farmers, artisans and merchants. During China's era of Imperial government, and during the Nationalist period as well, the region and its borders have often been involved in war with the

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241 ning in agriculture has become more complex and difficulties are
668 encountered in realizing annual targets. The absence of trained technicians to introduce new farming techniques, the lack of accountants and organizers in the cooperatives, and the so-called ideological backwardness of many of the Communist cadres themN
121 selves have prevented rapid cooperativization. We will now exa-
241 mine very briefly the progress achieved in the different regions
668 of the Northwest and the problems which have arisen to prevent agricultural development. In this way, the pattern of Chinese Communist agricultural planning can be observed more clearly. Henceforth, all statistics concerning the number of co-ops, agricultural output, etc., are Communist claims and, of course, must be carefully considered.

B. Application of Communist Agricultural Policy to the Northwest

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175 1. Sinkiang

474 By June, 1955, nearly six years after the area was occupied
241 by the Communist Army, there were 75,215 mutual aid teams
668 (it is not known how many of these were on a permanent basis)
[476] and the agricultural producer cooperative numbered 1,702 with roughly 66.4 per cent of the peasant population participating in some form of co-op. By the end of 1956, in response to Mao's directive to hasten the creation of agricultural producer cooperatives, it is planned to increase their number to 5,100 and by 1957 to 10,240. (Far Eastern Economic Review, December 1, 1955, pp. 686-87.)

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241 Emphasis has been on raising the production of wheat, oil
433 seed bearing plants, and cotton, by extending cultivation. The
668 Communists attribute all increases in production to a result of
175 further consolidation and development of the cooperative move-
[474] ment. Although there is a paucity of data on output, acreage, and output per acre, the following table has been pieced together from the information available, in an attempt to give some comparisons of increases attained during the Communist period with that of 1949. The figures for the Communist period have been obtained from 1954 and 1955 reports. See Table 1.

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242 The government has established agricultural stations, in
668 order to show the peasants of various nationalities how to improve
433 their farming methods. In 1955 it was reported that Sinkiang
175 had seventy such stations. Two tractor stations have also been opened in Urumchi and Sui-ting. These stations have sought to improve production by planting Ukrainian winter wheat and S-3173 cotton, and promote better procedures of farming such as summer ploughing, autumn ploughing, winter irrigation, sowing in rows, close-planting, and cotton-pruning. They have made efforts to wipe out insect pests. The Soviet Union sent

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392 Five tractor repair works were under construction in 1955.
493 Each plant will have sixteen or fifteen mechanized worships. When completed, they will be able to repair as many as 475 tractors and combine harvesters each year in addition to making other farm tools and spare parts.

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329 There are scattered reports on other industrial developments
398 in Sinkiang, such as: (1) the August First Iron and Steel Plant,
399 (2) the October Motor Car Repair and Assembly Shop, (3) the
256 Urumchi Automatic Electric Plant, (4) the modernized August
288 First Flour Mill, (5) the Khotan Silk Factory, (6) Houcheng
399 Airplane Manufacturing Factory, and (7) more than a dozen
239 animal products processing plants, which process skins, furs
439 and intestines for the purpose of exporting them to the Soviet Union. But detailed information on these projects is not available.

N S 5. Handicrafts.

121 The foregoing analysis concerns itself with the development
178 of modern industries in the Northwest under the Communist
463 regime. But handicrafts still play a very important role in this
N area as they do in other parts of the country. According to a
463 1951 report, the main handicrafts in the Northwest were as follows:

N S (1) Cotton cloth. A side line of the peasant, it was produced
(286) practically everywhere in the area. However, the more important producing districts are: 1. Sian, Paochi, in Shensi, 2. Tien-shui, Ho-hsi and Min-chin in Kansu, and 3. Turfan, toqsun and Aqsu in Sinkiang. In terms of quantities, the total annual output
S N in Shensi is approximately 3,779,670 pieces; in Kansu, 3,505,760
(433) pieces, in Sinkiang, 4,400,000 pieces.

N S (2) Pottery. The annual output of pottery in the Northwest
(323) amounts to over 4,000,000 pieces. Of that amount Shensi produces
(433) more than 3,000,000 pieces, Kansu, 500,000, Ninghsia, 200,000, and Sinkiang, 50,000. The more famous pottery-producing districts are: 1. Huang-pao-chen and Chen-lu-chen in Tung-chuan, Shensi, which have been famous since the Sung Dynasty, 2. Yao-kai in Yung-teng, Kansu, 3. Ah-kan-chen, Lanchou, Kansu, and An-kou-yao, Hua-ting, Kansu. The production consists mainly of pots, bowls, tea-pots, plates and tea-cups.

N S (3) Paper. While paper is manufactured in many places in this
463 area, the more important paper-producing districts are: 1. Nan-
289 cheng (Han-chung), Shensi, 2. Khotan, Sinkiang, 3. K'ang-cheng and Tien-shui, Kansu, and 4. Ying-chuan, Ninghsia. The main varieties are as follows:

(a) The "rough-edge" paper. Usually used as a writing paper,
N it is produced and consumed mainly in Shensi. The annual output
(433) is about 192,490 bundles.

(b) The "Flax paper." It may be made of white or black flax,

121

It had become clear to me that on my new expedition into the highlands, I could not think of continuing my old route. It would have taken too much time to get to the old place on the Tschang tang. By the time I would have reached it the animals would have suffered so much from the cold as well as from the distance, that I would have had little prospects of an important further advance. But above all I did not have the means to equip a second equally large caravan. I had therefore decided to take a trip into the little /98/ known K'am. In K'am on the upper Yangtze Kiang, around the sources of the Mekong and up to the banks of the Salwen, there lies a Tibetan province which, as I mentioned earlier, belongs to Hsining or rather to the Kuku Nor territory because it was occupied by Hsining Chinese at the beginning of the eighteenth century in the wars of conquest of the Manchu. The people of Hsining call this province the Hung mao or de ti fang, the "home of the red-hats" (1), sometimes also the Yü fu (Yü schu in the

1. All the people who do not belong to the Gelugba sect, refer to the Hsining Chinese as "red-hats," irrespective of whether they follow the Nima- (rNingma)Saskya-, or Karma-rites. As far as a layman is concerned the difference between these sects consists chiefly in small externalisms of the ritual, in the invocation, the gestures of the hands, in the type of music, in the intonation of the instruments and in whistling and hand-clapping. For the monks the difference lies in the first place, in the diversity of tutelary gods. [495]

Peking dialect). It is the country of Nan tsien (or Nan tschen) dyalbo, a king who is practically independent. The territory is very large and little of it has been explored because it is extremely difficult of access. We therefore do not even know its exact boundaries. But it is today the most important center of the old Nima- (rNingma-) faith, that is, this very sect of Red-hats.

122

In order to penetrate the lands of the Nan tsien king, I felt that it was first of all necessary for me to secure the consent of the Hsining amban. But how was it possible for me, without a recommendation from my government, once again to come into the presence of the high and mighty lord? It took a great deal of trouble. This yamen had an astonishing number of almighty gate-keepers. On two different days I went to the amban yamen at 10 o'clock in the morning and left it when the gates were closed at night without being admitted by the